



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

WORLD-POLITICS.

ROME: WASHINGTON.

ROME, September, 1906.

"Ad maiorem Dei gloriam" is the inscription on the Jesuit arms, dictated by St. Ignatius himself; but not all, even among good Catholics and other ecclesiastics of the Roman Church, believe that the work of the Jesuits has always been inspired only by a desire to promote the glory of God. This is, perhaps, difficult of understanding in America, where the Jesuits are chiefly known as an intellectual Order, dedicated almost entirely to teaching. They still conduct the Georgetown University, the oldest of Catholic seats of learning in America, and have flourishing colleges in many parts of the United States, especially in St. Louis, New York, Boston, Chicago, Cincinnati, San Francisco and New Orleans. Besides, their settlement in the United States and in Canada is connected with the remembrance of their missionary work, they having been the true pioneer missionaries, who advanced into the wilderness with unshakable faith in their religion and in the triumph of civilization. Even in the Philippines, where such bitter hatred existed against the religious Orders as to render necessary the expulsion of the Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians and Recollets, no complaint was raised against the Society of Jesus, who still hold their place there.

In Europe quite the contrary is the case, and the immense interest aroused by the election in Rome in these days of the new General, to succeed the late Father Luis Martin, is chiefly caused, not by the religious character of the institution founded by St. Ignatius of Loyola, but by the political influence which it has exercised in all countries of the old Continent, for nearly four centuries.

The Company of Jesus was formed at a time in which the Catholic Church was going through some of her darkest days, notably

in Germany, in England and in France, so that the audacity, the iron discipline and the unscrupulousness of action of Loyola's followers, summarized in the principle that the end justifies the means, was then most acceptable in Rome, which considered them as the best anchor of safety to which recourse could be had. Paul III and Julius III granted them privileges which no body of men in the Catholic Church ever enjoyed before or after. They were entitled to all the rights of the Mendicant and Secular Orders, to be exempt from all episcopal and civil jurisdiction and taxes, recognizing no authority except that of the Pope, and even that through the General of the Company. They were permitted to exercise all priestly functions, having even the power to absolve from all sins and ecclesiastical penalties, which even the Archbishops cannot do unconditionally; they were allowed to acquire churches and estates and erect Houses for the Order, without Papal sanction, and they dispensed themselves from fasting and using the breviary, etc., so that they had a spiritual power almost equal to that of the Pope; hence the rapid development of the Order, its incontestable successes, and the parallel growth of dislike among the other religious bodies, jealous of the immunities and privileges which were denied to them. In their condemnation it has often been said that the prophetic words attributed to their third General, Francis Borgia, elected in 1565, have been fulfilled. Speaking of the Order, at the head of which he was placed, he said, "Like lambs we have crept into power, like wolves have we used it, like dogs shall we be driven out, but like eagles shall we renew our youth." It must, however, be said, without intending to lessen the historical responsibilities weighing on the Society of Jesus, that, considering the times in which they started into life, and the mission which they imposed upon themselves, it was for them very difficult, not to say impossible, to keep out of politics, if they wished to make any headway; and, in fact, they were so mixed up in politics that their fortunes, from the middle of the sixteenth century, have risen and fallen with the rise and fall of the politico-religious principles which they have upheld.

The volcanic fluctuations in their history, down to the time when Clement XIV was induced to suppress them in 1773, are too well known to be recorded here. What it is interesting to consider, on the occasion of the election of the twenty-fourth General of the Order, is their present situation in Europe, and

especially in Italy, both with regard to the Italian Government and the Papacy. At the epoch alluded to above, in which Clement XIV issued his famous Bull of Suppression, they had reached the height of their power. They numbered over 20,000 members, had churches, houses, universities, colleges, and ecclesiastic and lay privileges in all countries; one of them, Father Roberto Belarmino of Montepulciano, nephew of Marcellus II and confessor of Clement VIII, would have been elected Pope in the Conclave which put Paul V (Borghese) in the chair of St. Peter, had he not absolutely refused; another, John Casimir, son of King Sigismund III of Poland, finding himself heir to the throne, was allowed by both Pope and General to leave the Order, marry and become King, deserving from Alexander VII the title of the "Orthodox King." Independently of this, the Jesuits had had many Pontiffs and Sovereigns entirely subservient to their will, so that the measure adopted by Clement XIV astonished the world. The Pope did not sign so momentous a document without many searchings of heart. He retired to his apartment and for three days and nights was seen by no one, while he scarcely ate or slept, so great was his indecision. The third night was made glorious by a clear moon; and, as he stood at his window looking down on the fountains of the Piazza of St. Peter, sparkling in the moonlight, and not a sign of life anywhere, as it was three in the morning, he came to a sudden resolution, and, rushing to a table, he seized document and pen, signing the former on the window ledge, as his room was in darkness. Once this was done, he almost repented, and threw Bull and quill on the floor in a corner, not to be tempted to touch them again, and retiring hurriedly he slept like a child for the first time in many days. A year later, Clement died, under such peculiar circumstances that the Jesuits have never been able to free themselves from the suspicion of having hastened his end.

Thus, according to the Ecclesiastical Dictionary of Moroni, the Order solemnly confirmed by nineteen of Clement XIV's predecessors was suppressed and remained disbanded for forty-one years, except in Prussia and in Russia, the two countries which, in our days, are most severe against them, the former tolerating them without, however, allowing them to reestablish their Houses, and the latter never having permitted them to reenter the Muscovite Empire since they were driven out of it.

In Austria, Spain and Portugal, they now flourish again, while in France, Belgium and England their influence is considerably augmented. In Italy, they made the mistake of identifying too much the struggle for the unity and independence of the country with anti-Catholicism, perhaps because the movement which was to transform the "geographical expression" into a new Power comprised the suppression of the Papal States. They, therefore, found themselves the allies and supporters of reaction and anti-patriotism, thus augmenting the dislike which had already accumulated against them. There was a time in Italy when the hope was entertained of freeing the Peninsula from foreign dominion with the assistance of the Papacy, and many still remember the enthusiasm aroused by Pius IX when he sent the Pontifical troops to fight the Austrians. Even Garibaldi then put his sword at the Pope's disposal, but the influence of the Jesuits changed all, and from that moment the fate of the Temporal Power was decided.

The taking of Rome, in 1870, did not discourage the Jesuits, as they firmly believed that such a state of things could not be permanent, and they used all the means at their disposal to hasten the change. They had insisted that Pius IX, repeating what he had done twenty-two years before, when the Roman Republic was proclaimed, should fly from the Eternal City, before the entrance of what they then called the "Piedmontese." Their idea was that a Pope in exile, far from the Vatican, would gather the sympathy and help of the whole Catholic world for his restoration. It is believed that they would have succeeded had it not been for the opposition of Cardinal Antonelli, who maintained that such a step would be a blot on the history of the Papacy.

They displayed great activity in creating, both at home and abroad, all possible difficulties for the new Kingdom. The long duration of political brigandage in the south of Italy is attributed to their assistance, combined with that of the dispossessed Bourbons of Naples, while they started that policy of intimate friendship with France which reached its culmination under Cardinal Rampolla, and was based on the conviction that the day would come in which that country would have her *revanche* against Germany, which, in their minds, would also mean the *revanche* of the Papacy, as the loss of the Temporal Power was the consequence of the defeat of France in 1870. At that time, through their influence, the Government of the French Republic kept the

man-of-war "Orénoque," in the harbor of Civita Vecchia, at the disposal of the Pope, for a period of four years, until October 14th, 1874. This, as can be easily understood, was a constant source of incidents and friction, which began only a few months after the entrance of the Italian troops into Rome, when M. Bourgoing, French Ambassador accredited to the Vatican, under pressure from the Jesuits, had arranged that the officers and crew of that ship should on New Year's Day come to Rome to present their homage to the Pontiff. M. Fournier, French Representative to the Italian Government, who was then only a Minister, not having yet been raised to the rank of Ambassador, protested, maintaining that, if the French sailors were to come to Rome at all, their first visit should be to the King. Paris had to intervene in favor of the Minister, so that the Ambassador resigned. When Napoleon III died at Chiselhurst, the Jesuits, to please the French Government, wished that the Papacy should participate in the condolence as little as possible, so they detained the telegram which Pius IX sent to Empress Eugénie, and they delayed the permission asked by Cardinal Bonaparte to assist at the funeral until it was too late. It was also discovered that the Jesuits were organizing in Rome, with disbanded Pontifical soldiers, chiefly ex-Zouaves from Italy, France, Belgium and Canada, Carlist Bands for an expedition to Spain. In the monastery of the Church of Santa Maria della Scala, arms, manifestoes and banners were seized. All these incidents and many others, which now seem insignificant, created such bad feeling that the Government was obliged to present a bill for the suppression of the religious Corporations, which was approved and the General House of the Jesuits was closed with the others, their property being sold at public auction, notwithstanding the excommunication of the purchasers.

The headquarters of the Society were transferred to Fiesole, the picturesque village on the slopes above Florence, so rich in artistic memories, and from thence they continued for many years their anti-Italian campaign. They hurled their thunders against Count Andrassy when, in 1873, he arranged the visit of King Victor Emmanuel to Vienna, calling him the "Hungarian conspirator," and predicting his fall. They again tried to transfer the seat of Catholicism from Rome and Italy, when, after the death of Pius IX, the Conclave for the election of the new Pope

was to meet. In the Congregations preparatory to it they induced several Cardinals, including Pecci, afterwards Leo XIII, Ledochowski, afterwards for so many years Prefect of the Propaganda, and Manning and Howard, and Oreglia—the only survivor of the Cardinals created by Pius IX—to vote for holding the Conclave outside the Peninsula. Signor Crispi, who was then Minister of the Interior, was approached to learn from him what would be his attitude should the Sacred College decide to leave. “I shall have the Cardinals considered and treated throughout the Kingdom to the frontier as Princes of the blood,” answered the Sicilian politician. “And should they return?” “Ah! As to that I can guarantee nothing,” he replied, with a significant smile. The Cardinals understood that if the Holy See was once transferred from Italy, it would probably never return again, and they ended by all agreeing to meet in Rome.

Not having succeeded in bringing the Papacy out of Italy, the Jesuits themselves left the country in 1892, when their late General was to be elected, and they went to the classic land of their origin at Loyola, where all spoke of their founder. The General elected there, Father Luis Martin, and his assistants, among whom there was for the first time an American, Father Rudolph Meyer, of St. Louis, Missouri, had the merit of understanding that the time had come to change attitude and direction, as the old intransigence and aggressiveness could in no way be to their advantage.

Fiesole, notwithstanding the Cyclopean walls of its Etruscan remains, the inspiring ruins of its Roman Capitol, and the traces of great Florentines from Fra Angelico to Brunelleschi, was for the leaders of the Company a kind of exile. They wanted Rome with its history and prestige, they wanted to sit next to the Vatican and not far from their largest Church, the Gesù, where the remains of St. Ignatius lie. Thus they did what in no other country than Italy would be tolerated. Although no change had taken place in the bill which suppressed their General House, they gradually transferred themselves again to the Eternal City, without, however, officially announcing their removal or taking a building for themselves, but becoming the guests of the German College, one of their institutions. The strong anti-Italian feeling of past time is much modified; they, indeed, to a certain extent, feel gratitude at being unmolested. On the other hand, the

Italian Government closed not one but both eyes, being rather glad to have at its disposal such a strong arm as the application of the bill of suppression, should the Jesuits abuse the hospitality tacitly permitted them.

Since their return to Rome their programme, which very likely will be followed by the new General also, has consisted chiefly in obtaining a complete supremacy in the Church, so exemplifying, and not for the first time, the saying that the "Black Pope," the General of the Jesuits, is more powerful than the "Red Pope," the Prefect of the Propaganda, and even the "White Pope," the Pontiff himself.

WASHINGTON, *October, 1906.*

DURING the last thirty days political onlookers in the Federal capital have been preoccupied, not with the question whether the Republicans will retain control of the House of Representatives in the Sixtieth Congress—of this there now seems to be no doubt—but, first, with the intervention of the United States in Cuba and the possible effect of that act on the outcome of Secretary Root's mission to South America, and, secondly, the result of the State election in New York, which, obviously, will have a direct and important bearing on the use that will be made of that State's thirty-nine electoral votes in the next Presidential contest. There is no doubt that our interposition in Cuba was necessary to save this year's sugar and tobacco crops, upon which the islanders mainly rely for their support. Nevertheless, it is fortunate that the establishment of a provisional Government by Secretary Taft had not only an economical, but a political, justification. It was plain, indeed, to impartial observers, for some time before Secretary Taft landed in Cuba, that the Moderates, who, since the accession of President Palma to their party, had dominated the Havana Government, were unable to quell the insurrection started by the Liberals, their political opponents; but, had the Moderates maintained the contrary, and insisted that our intervention was needless, we could not have forced it upon the Cubans without exciting suspicion and misgiving throughout Latin America.

As a matter of fact, indeed, the Moderates are estopped by their own act from pretending that our interposition was uncalled for and superfluous. Since the publication of the cabled

correspondence between President Palma and his Secretary of State with our State Department, it has been made clear that our intervention was most urgently solicited by the Havana Government for at least a week before the arrival of the first United States war-vessel in the harbor of Havana. The request was based upon the frank admission of inability to put down the insurrection, to preserve the sugar and tobacco crops from devastation and to safeguard the city of Havana itself from attack and spoliation. Under the circumstances, the strongest possible case was presented for interference under the so-called Platt Amendment to the Cuban Constitution, which made it, not only our right, but our duty, to interpose for the maintenance of law and order in the island. As the Liberals, who were arrayed in arms against the Palma Administration, had already requested our interposition, we had absolutely no excuse, after receiving the earnest appeal from the Havana Government, for refusing to act.

Act, accordingly, we did, but with reluctance and the utmost circumspection. Thus, when our first war-vessel reached Havana, and, in compliance with a pressing demand from President Palma, a force of one hundred and fifty sailors had been landed for his personal protection, the guard was presently withdrawn by a peremptory order from our Navy Department. Even after Secretary Taft's arrival, he spent many days in efforts to persuade President Palma to reconsider his determination to resign, and to assent to some compromise with the Liberal insurgents, whereby a new election might take place under Palma's supervision, and thus any break in the continuity of the native Government be averted. President Palma and his fellow Moderates, however, refused to acquiesce in any compromise, having, apparently, taken it for granted that the United States would use its military and naval forces to sustain them as constituting the *de facto* Government, without instituting any preliminary inquiry into the equities of the case. This Judge Taft very properly declined to do; but, after an investigation which threw a lurid light upon the methods by which last year's election in Cuba was conducted, expressed a willingness to uphold Señor Palma temporarily in the post of Chief Executive, provided he would order a new general election, and abide by its results. President Palma refused to do this, and persisted in resigning

his office. Vice-President Capote and all the members of the Cabinet followed Palma's example, and, as a quorum could not be secured in the Cuban Congress, the Constitutional election of a successor in the office of insular Chief Magistrate was impossible.

Cuba was thus left without a Government, and there was nothing left for Secretary Taft to do but to proclaim himself the head of a provisional administration. That the intervention was to be provisional in the strictest sense of the word was made patent by the declaration that it would only last until order had been restored throughout the island, and until the situation should be such that a new and fair general election might take place. On the part of the Cuban Liberals not a protest was raised, and the Moderates, as we have said, were estopped from remonstrance by the knowledge that their own Administration, of which Señor Palma was the head, had repeatedly requested interference.

There is no room, then, for any misconstruction of our motives on the part of our Latin-American neighbors.

In the opinion of onlooking diplomatists in Washington, some of whom, perhaps, were not overanxious to see crowned with success Mr. Root's mission to South America, it would be difficult to exaggerate the caution, wisdom and skill with which the delicate and difficult problem presented by the Cuban situation has been solved by the Roosevelt Administration. Instead of undoing the work performed by Secretary Root, our solution of the Cuban problem has confirmed his assurances, and has demonstrated in the most striking and conclusive way the truth of his assertion that, in dealing with our sister republics, we are animated by the purest and most generous purposes. It should henceforth be impossible for the most sceptical observer in Montevideo, or Buenos Aires, or Santiago de Chile, to misconceive the intention with which our Government has interposed to shield the Dominican commonwealth from its foreign creditors. Events have enabled us to furnish in Cuba an object-lesson which cannot be misinterpreted. In view of it, Latin America must recognize that there is absolutely no trace of a desire in the United States for southward annexation. If we do not want Cuba, where much American capital is invested, and upon which we are largely dependent for our supply of sugar, we certainly

do not want Santo Domingo, much less Venezuela or Colombia. In a word, we want nothing but the good-will and trust of our Latin-American brethren.

Mr. Root told the Latin-Americans the truth, and we might almost say that the Cuban Liberals deserve to be thanked for giving us an opportunity of proving it.

The intense interest felt, not only at Washington, but all over the Union, in the New York State election, is intelligible enough. Not only political, but social, issues of vital import are involved in it.

If, by any chance, Mr. William Randolph Hearst should succeed in getting himself chosen Governor, it is obvious that with his newspapers and with his pecuniary resources, and with the prestige of success in the Empire Commonwealth, he could start movements in the adjoining States of New Jersey and Connecticut which would give him a chance of adding in 1908 their nineteen electoral votes to the thirty-nine of New York. In that event, he would become a formidable rival of William J. Bryan for the Democratic nomination two years hence, especially as, in a Democratic National Convention, two-thirds of the votes are needed to accredit a nominee. That, under the circumstances suggested, Mr. Hearst could muster a third of the votes, we probably may take for granted. He managed to get scores of votes even in the St. Louis Convention, when he had nothing behind him but an extraordinary exhibition of brazen assurance. With the delegations of New York, New Jersey, Connecticut and Massachusetts at his back—he is sure of Massachusetts if Moran, the Democratic nominee for Governor in that State, should prove more influential than George Fred Williams—he would be almost certain to pick up many additional adherents in the South and West.

These are no shadowy terrors: they are indubitable facts; and for that reason the campaign in New York is watched with acute anxiety. Not the least nervous of the anxious observers must be President Roosevelt himself. We have the best of reasons for asserting absolute confidence in the sincerity of the resolve repeatedly expressed by Mr. Roosevelt not to be a candidate, or even to accept a nomination, for another term. Yet, if, by any chance, Mr. Hearst should be chosen Governor of New York this year, the demand for Mr. Roosevelt's renomination

at the head of the Republican ticket in 1908 might prove irresistible, and he might have to yield.

Aside, however, from its political aspects, the Hearst movement, which is not by any means confined to New York and Massachusetts, but is active and aggressive in Illinois and California, excites the greatest apprehensions in thoughtful men, who perceive its bearing upon our whole social structure. Although Mr. Hearst himself professes to be an individualist, and, in some of his speeches, has disavowed any personal predilections for Socialism, there is no doubt that his newspapers are not only vociferous in their advocacy of Socialistic demands, but, at times, in their rabid denunciation of the accumulations of capital by thrift and brains, stop but little short of direct incitement to predatory and homicidal anarchy. Day in and day out, they preach the gospel of the discontented. They strive to array class against class, to foment hatred and malice; and, if they could have their way, would make of this happy land of ours a hell.